



Center for Slavic and East European Studies

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# Newsletter

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## Kazan: National Identity and the Movement Toward an Independent Tatarstan

In This Issue:

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by Robert Geraci

• A "warm" spot of ethnic and nationalist controversy within the Russian Republic.

• Sitka: a history grad looks at the capital of old "Russian" America. page 6

• Laura Tyson picked for Clinton administration. page 4

• Bag lunch and lecture reports. page 5

• Electronic journals and indexes are becoming more available. page 11

*Robert Geraci is a graduate student in the Department of History. He was in Kazan, a city on the Volga about 500 miles east of Moscow, for half of his 1991-92 IREX stay, researching his dissertation, "Window On the East: Ethnography, Orthodoxy and Russian Nationality In Kazan, 1870-1917."*

*Bob notes that "before the Russians came, Kazan was the center of the Kazan Khanate, a successor state to the government of Genghis Khan's Golden Horde. In 1552, Ivan the Terrible avenged Russia's 200-year submission to the "Mongol yoke" by capturing Kazan from its inhabitants, the Tatars. Although Kazan became a major Russian commercial, cultural and administrative center, virtually all tsarist attempts to culturally assimilate the Tatars failed miserably. Kazan remained a center of Islamic culture and learning, and few Tatars learned to speak Russian. Tatar society interacted only minimally with Russian society, despite being regulated in many ways by the tsarist government.*

*Now, centuries after the arrival of the Russians, the Tatar Autonomous Republic of the Russian Republic, with Kazan as its capital, is struggling to end its long period of economic, political and cultural subordination to Russia, and to become independent Tatarstan."*

Spending a year in Russia meant missing most of the debates over the Columbus quincentennial. But the Russians have analogous controversies in their history, and the past year saw their unfolding. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, it can now be said that decolonization is recognized worldwide as an imperative. Though the particulars of this process are unique in the context of each world area, the general questions are the same: How far can history be turned back? How durable or malleable are ethnic differences? What is to be the relationship between ethnicity and politics? Are peoples responsible for the actions of their ancestors?

"It isn't Tashkent or Tbilisi," a Tatar journalist said to me ruefully, "but Kazan does have its special something." One soon sees what he means: prerevolutionary wooden houses painted in bold colors that typify Tatar folk style; the yellow 18th-century cathedral with red, blue and green flowers in relief, said to be a unique result of the Tatar influence on Russian church architecture; the high minarets and half-moons of the 15 remaining mosques; an occasional Soviet building in pseudo-Islamic style. Half the signs are in Tatar (in Cyrillic letters, with a few extras); older men wear the traditional *tiubeteika*, or skull cap; and the Tatar language can be heard on almost any street corner.

The Autonomous Republics of the Russian Republic of the USSR were in a sense the last respects paid by the Bolsheviks to certain minority peoples before their expected absorption into the Russian nation under socialism. They were created principally in parts of the Russian empire that had been annexed relatively early, were centrally located, and had a significant number of Russians sharing space with minority peoples. Territorial lines were drawn around the largest concentrations of each major ethnic group. Thus Kazan, then, as now, about one-half Russian and one-half Tatar, became the capital of the Tatar Republic.

Soviet nationality policy has been a mixed bag for the Tatars. As individuals, Tatars have risen to prominent positions in all fields of public life. In politics, academics, the arts and the economy, there is little remaining evidence of inequality of opportunity of the type found in America; numerically Tatars often dominate. It has been said that the Autonomous Republic structure has restored

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Portions of the ruins of medieval Bulgar and an 18th-century Orthodox church, the Church of St. Nicholas.

PHOTO: BOB GERACI

to Tatars the sense of statehood that was completely absent under tsarism. On the other hand, this social levelling with respect to nationality depended on the idea of cultural blending, or *sliianie*, with Russian culture as unequivocally dominant. Paradoxically, to enjoy equal status as a nationality, the Tatars were expected to give up their existence as a separate nationality. Many Tatar cultural leaders were killed or imprisoned in Stalin's terror. Historical or ethnographic works on the Tatars were censored if they shed too much light on Russian-Tatar conflicts (even under tsarism). The Tatar language all but disappeared from the Republic's school system and from the press. While more mosques than Orthodox churches were in operation in Kazan throughout Communist rule, the controversial 19th-century monument to the Russian troops killed in the conquest of the Tatar city remained standing.

In August 1990, a year before the attempted Soviet coup, the parliament of the Tatar Republic declared the republic a sovereign entity. In March 1992, after the Soviet Union had been dissolved, the population at large was asked, "Do you agree that

the Republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign state, a subject of international law, with the power to determine its own relations with the Russian Federation, the other [ex-Soviet] republics, and other states on the basis of mutual agreements?" Over 80 percent of voters cast ballots, and of these over 60 percent favored sovereignty.

Since Soviet policies have created the impression that by now the Tatars have long been (or at least should be) Russified, Tatarstan's secession is for Russian officialdom and public opinion much harder to swallow than that of the Union Republics. On the geographical level, the idea of "cutting a hole in the Russian Republic" is blasphemous to many. After hearing a news story about how some Kazan Tatars organized a ceremony commemorating the Tatars killed by the Russians in 1552, some of my Russian friends in Petersburg reeled with laughter. "Do they want to turn history back to before Ivan the Terrible?" they wondered, just as some white Americans deride Native Americans' attempts to enforce centuries-old treaties or to repatriate tribal artifacts held in museums.

President Mintimir Shaimiev (formerly the local Communist Party chief) is aware of these sorts of feelings among Russians. Immediately after the referendum results were released, he lauded the voters for approving sovereignty but sought to placate the Russian leaders by declaring that "we will always be with Russia" and that "we must not break centuries-old economic and cultural ties with Russia." Because of such ambiguity, so far virtually nothing has changed since the referendum.

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What actually remains of the Tatar nation? Views vary widely even among those who voted for independence. "You could say we're Russians of Tatar descent," offers my friend Anvar. "When we speak in Tatar, it's mostly for the sake of quaintness." To one side of Anvar hangs a portrait of Pushkin and to the other, one of Gabdullah Tukai, the early 20th-century Tatar poet. (Statues of the two poets also grace opposite sides of the Kazan opera house.) Other friends are uncomfortable with Anvar's formulation, preferring to call themselves "Russified Tatars." At any rate, very few Tatars or even half-Tatars would call themselves simply Russians. The most compelling evidence for the basic durability of Tatar-Russian difference is in first names. While Russians consistently give their children Russian names, Tatars almost never do. Either they use traditional Tatar-Islamic names—Aidar, Il'dus, Firuza, Farida, or else ones that are neither Russian nor Tatar—Emile, Rosa, Angie, Richard. In other words, those who have given up specifically Tatar conventions have not necessarily adopted Russian ones.

Though intermarriage between Tatars and Russians surely has been extensive, it is not uncommon to find families that have remained purely Tatar. Even Tatars with Russian last names sometimes claim that their ancestry is pure. My friend Karina,



**There is a modest revival of Islam, but because the Communists' anti-religion campaign was fairly successful it is not likely to be a galvanizing force for Tatar nationalism. Among the older generation, traces of Islam are vestigial rather than essential.**

however, thinks that many Tatars' explicit desire to marry only within the group is a recent phenomenon of the cultural revival. And she thinks it is a bad idea, having been divorced from a Tatar two years ago. "Tatar men still expect their women to be completely submissive. I think Tatar women are better off with Russian or Jewish men."

Many Russians outside of Tataria, thinking of the "Mongol-Tatar yoke," have the impression that Tatars are easily distinguishable from Russians by physical features. In fact, reality defies this stereotype. Few Tatars have features that would be described as Mongolian, and some are blonde- or even red-haired. Russian popular opinion has always sought cultural advantage by portraying the Tatars as Asian invaders; last year the right-wing demagogue Vladimir Zhirinovskii suggested sending them "back" to Mongolia. But historians and ethnographers have long subscribed to a different version of Tatar history. According to both Russian and Tatar scholars, the Tatars are direct descendants of a people called the Volga Bulgars, a Turkic people who had a rich civilization in medieval times. (The ruins of their capital, Bulgary, are a tourist site just a few miles down the river from Kazan.) Early on, one part of the tribe emigrated to Europe, where they acquired a Slavic language, accepted Christianity, and became the Bulgarians; the

rest remained, converted to Islam and were themselves colonized by the Mongols (then by the Russians). Since the 19th century, some Tatars have on the basis of this theory demanded to be called Bulgars, because the name "Tatar" originated as a derogatory term for Asians.

For the most enthusiastic Tatar nationalists, the insistence that there was virtually no ethnic mixing between the Mongols and the Bulgars is a cornerstone of cultural pride. At a Tatar cultural festival, the historian Abrar Karimullin looked around at the packed auditorium and said to me, "You see these faces? They're all European faces. Not a single Asian physiognomy. Russians who don't know anything about us think of us as Asians." He said the word "Asian" with such scowling disdain that it was clear that more than historical accuracy was at stake. Heated exchanges at a session of the World Turkological Conference in Kazan last year showed that the relationship of the Golden Horde to Tatar culture is still very controversial.

The Tatar language, closely related to Turkish and most of the languages of Central Asia, has made a comeback in recent years after having been forgotten or neglected by many. Even an elderly couple who speak Tatar at home told me that until a few years ago they usually spoke Russian to each other. Now they keep a Russian-Tatar conversation manual on hand. "Since everybody always spoke in Russian, you could forget how to say a lot of things." In public one frequently hears Tatar speech peppered with Russian words, usually more abstract words not used in the "kitchen Tatar" that survived in most Kazan families. Even a director in one of the two Tatar theaters in Kazan knows the language only superficially. Tatar newspapers and books are proliferating, but many Tatarspeakers can still read only Russian. In the countryside, things seem to

have changed less under the Communists: one historian in his mid-thirties told me that when he came from his native village to study at Kazan University he spoke Russian very poorly. His accent is still detectable.

There is a modest revival of Islam, but because the Communists' anti-religion campaign was fairly successful it is not likely to be a galvanizing force for Tatar nationalism. Among the older generation, traces of Islam are vestigial rather than essential. Kashifa, 85 years old, calls herself a Muslim. She has dutifully avoided pork all her life but rarely observes Muslim rituals or prayers. She boasts, "None of the men in my family have ever been drinkers. Papa never drank, my brothers don't drink, my husband never drank, and my son doesn't drink." Yet when asked whether this remarkable record reflects the influence of Islam, she says she doesn't think so.

There is no shortage of information on Islam now that religious literature is no longer censored. Newspapers print feature articles on Tatar history and culture in which Islam is sometimes emphasized. Islamic spiritual books are available in both Russian and Tatar, and a pre-revolutionary dual-language Koran in Russian and Arabic (prepared by missionaries) was recently reprinted. Prayers are broadcast over the radio. Many Tatars in Kazan, including some young people, have dabbled in these offerings, but very few seem to have plunged in with any zeal. Many of the fervent intellectual nationalists are indifferent to religion. And few Tatars besides intellectuals have any knowledge of Arabic, Islam's holy language, though some activists are reportedly sending their sons abroad to Muslim schools.

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The most radical positions on Tatar nationalism are taken by the intelligentsia—writers, academics and artists. My chief contact from



## Notes From the Chair

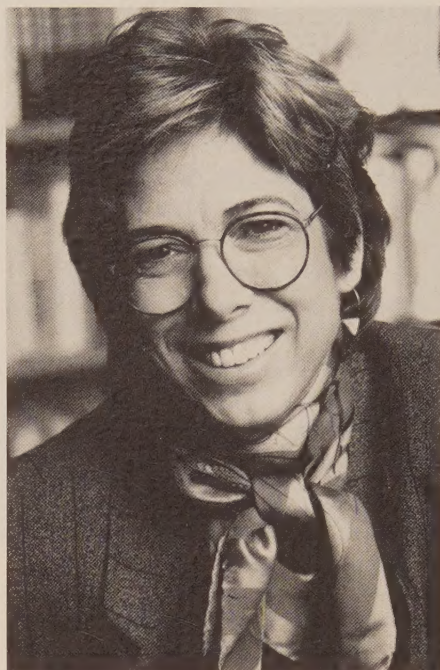
The Center staff and I welcome you back for the new year, which we hope will bring all readers health and happiness. Through our activities we hope to help you achieve at least the latter!

This semester promises to be an exceptionally exciting one, as we continue to analyze the diverse trajectories of change unfolding in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. To a scholar, a most intriguing question is: why have these countries displayed such diverse results in the short time since the collapse of communism? This question informs several of the major events we have scheduled during the Spring 1993 semester. Our Colin Miller Memorial Lecturer (February 25 at 4:00 p.m.), will be Andrei Kortunov, a Russian political scientist of "McNeil-Lehrer" and "Nightline" fame. Our annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference (March 12, 9:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m. at Stanford) will address "The Disintegration of Communist Multi-ethnic States: USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia." The annual Outreach Conference (April 16-18, Alumni House), will feature specialists on many of the countries of the region. And, as always, our Brown Bag Lunch series will showcase a variety of topics pertaining to diversity in the region.

We hope you will avail yourselves of these opportunities. We look forward to seeing you!

---George W. Breslauer  
Chair of the Center

## Professor Laura Tyson a Clinton Nominee



Laura D'Andrea Tyson, a Center-affiliated faculty member, is President Clinton's designee for the position of chair of the Council of Economic Advisors.

Tyson holds a joint appointment in the Department of Economics and the Department of Business Administration. She is director of research at the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE) and head of the Institute of International Studies. Professor Tyson worked for Clinton in Washington, D.C., as a member of his economic transition team.

Tyson is "honored and thrilled" by the nomination. "During the past 12 years or so, my colleagues at the University of California at Berkeley, numerous academics around the country, and creative policy-makers such as the Governor of Arkansas have developed many new ideas for revitalizing the American economy. It never occurred to me during these years of hard work that I would have the opportunity to put these ideas into effect." She describes herself as a "cautious activist" who believes that

"free trade is not necessarily and automatically the best policy." Instead, Tyson recommends that the U.S. government subsidize its key export industries, use selective trade retaliation against foreign countries, and negotiate to achieve increased access to foreign markets. These measures, she says, could help strengthen the economy.

BRIE is an interdisciplinary research group based at Berkeley that examines international competition in the development and application of advanced technologies, and assesses the consequences of technological innovation for national industrial performance and material living standards. Foremost among the ideas developed by BRIE, says Tyson, is that "national security depends upon economic security, that manufacturing matters to economic security, and that America must compete on the basis of high skills, new technologies, and high quality—not through low wages."

A UC Berkeley faculty member since 1978, Tyson is a specialist in comparative and international economics. Her new book, *Who's Bashing Whom? Trade Conflict in High-Technology Industries*, analyzes trade disputes between the U.S., Europe and Japan. She has written extensively on the economies of Eastern Europe: her books include *The Yugoslav Economic System and its Performance in the 1970s* (Institute of International Studies, UC Berkeley research series #44); *Economic Adjustment in Eastern Europe* (RAND, 1984); and *Power, Purpose and Collective Choice: Economic Strategy in Socialist States*, co-edited with Ellen Comisso (Cornell University Press: 1986). She received her BA *summa cum laude* from Smith College, and her Ph.D. in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. □



# Bag Lunch and Lecture Reports

## **Jerzy Hausner: "Polish Economic Reforms: Problems and Prospects"**

At a lecture on November 17 Dr. Jerzy Hausner, associate professor at the Academy of Economics, Cracow, presented a highly critical view of the economic transformation program, known as the Balcerowicz Plan, pursued by the Polish post-communist leadership in the period 1989-1991. According to Hausner, government philosophy was marked by an uncritical acceptance of the Western neo-liberal model; by the top-down, exclusionary approach to systemic reform; and by neglect of the institutional underpinnings of the market mechanism. The Balcerowicz team believed that the curtailment of state interference in the economy would be tantamount to the creation of functioning markets.

Among the positive results of the Balcerowicz reform Dr. Hausner listed the elimination of shortages, decreased inflation, and the dynamic development of the private sector. At the same time he stressed the negative consequences, which became pronounced with the passage of time: a severe recession, a crisis of public finances and growing social unrest. If these policies continue to be implemented, Hausner sees the danger of an anti-reform backlash: a return to the *dirigiste* economy, or a "populist shift" in the form of irresponsible fiscal and monetary policies.

Hence, even though the direction originally taken was a practical necessity at the time, today there is a need for innovative economic policies. First, the state must assume an active role in the building of a market economy. This means devising schemes for the restructuring of state enterprises and other economic organizations such as banks. Industrial policies, designed to help enterprises survive in the transition period, are also needed. Finally, top-

down policymaking must give way to an interactive, inclusionary approach. The centerpiece of this strategy, Dr. Hausner concluded, is social dialogue, negotiation and pact-making with major organized interests such as trade unions.

---Tomek Grabowski  
graduate student in the  
Department of Political Science

## **Viacheslav Nikonov: Politics in the New Russia**

Professor Viacheslav Nikonov, senior advisor at the Foundation for Economic and Social Reforms, Moscow, and visiting professor of history at the California Institute of Technology, argued at a Brown Bag Lunch talk on November 12 that although much has changed, the rules of Russia's political life and the issues confronting Russia's leaders have remained fairly constant. He proposed to demonstrate this continuity by describing the current structure of the Russian government and comparing it with that of its predecessor.

Like its Soviet counterpart, the current government is staffed by bureaucrats, in this instance Yeltsin's friends from Sverdlovsk Party circles; by "strong men" from the old Russian and Soviet managerial agencies; and, to a much lesser extent, by St. Petersburg and Moscow intellectuals. Yeltsin recently distanced himself from Democratic Russia—and from democratic forces in general: there is not a single representative of the Democratic movement in Yeltsin's government, and the State Council, originally influenced by intellectuals, no longer plays a role in the decision-making process. Instead, said Nikonov, Yeltsin prefers to rely on "the corporate solidarity of the former Communist Party and on its military-industrial complex."

He pointed out that there is even a

Politburo-like structure within Yeltsin's administration: the Security Council. Like the old Politburo, the new Security Council regulates "domestic and foreign policy, defense, strategic problems of state, the economy, public policy, the environment, and health." It is also supposed to "forecast and avert emergency situations and to establish law and order." Yeltsin's July decree subordinated all federal agencies, ministries and local authorities to the Security Council. Further, the Security Council cannot be checked by any other branch of government, because separation of powers is not a reality.

Since the new government's structure is now so similar to that of its predecessor, it is hardly surprising that its efforts to modify the federal structure closely resemble the cures attempted by its Soviet counterpart.

Can one then say that nothing has changed in Russian political life? Not at all. Russia is now an independent country; the Communist party no longer dominates its government; freedom of expression is allowed; and new political parties are created almost every day. At first glance the country seems to be headed for a democratic government. Yet according to Professor Nikonov, the change-stifling old order remains firmly in place. Change is a tenuous, uncertain process requiring time and patience.

---Inna Fraynt  
senior in the  
Department of Political Science



## Looking For Vestiges of "Russian" America in Alaska

by Ilya Vinkovetsky

After two years of study and several more of dreaming, I finally got to see Alaska with my own eyes last summer. My destination was predetermined by the nature of my studies, which are centered around "Russian" America. "Russian" America, of course, was Alaska's designation until it was sold to the United States in 1867. Between 1807 and 1867 the capital of Russian America was Novo-Arkhangelsk (New Archangel), present-day Sitka, and my destination. Although Novo-Arkhangelsk never had more than a thousand Russian inhabitants at one time, it was an important port of call early in the nineteenth century, when California ports remained closed to British and American ships. Novo-Arkhangelsk's position was enhanced by its centrality in the lucrative sea otter trade, and by its possession of the only ship repair facilities north of Hawaii. I wanted to see what, if anything, is left of Novo-Arkhangelsk in today's Sitka.

A thriving culture inhabited Sitka island long before the Russian *promyshlenniki* set foot there. The Tlingit not only survived the Russian colonization intact, but, helped by geography, managed to make the Russian colonizers dependent on them for basic supplies. Their perseverance and the creativity of their resistance earned them grudging respect from Russian officials and piqued my interest. So I was going to see the Tlingit, as well as whatever remained of the Russians.

The Alaska Marine Highway consists of a fleet of ferries, often referred to by Alaskans as the "blue canoes." They provide access to the isolated towns of southeastern Alaska not accessible by road from the mainland. The "blue canoes" transport cars and people from Bellingham in northern Washington to Skagway or Haines, offering a quicker, more comfortable alternative to driving on the rugged Alaska highway. Seeing the Inside Passage from aboard a ferry is a unique experience. The further north from Vancouver the ferry travels, the more intricate the forests appear, and the more wildlife catches the eye: miles and miles of thick dark forests on large and tiny islands; a few lighthouses; scattered settlements, some without electricity and running water. Breathtaking mountain ranges. Soaring bald eagles. Noisy, meddlesome ravens. Diving whales. No postcard or description can do justice to southeast Alaska on a sunny day.

After three days aboard the *Taku*, the ferry felt like home. But the sadness I felt upon coming ashore was tempered by anticipation. I was finally in Sitka! I rushed to the center of town to find Castle Hill, where Governor Alexander Baranov's castle once stood. On that rainy day in mid-June, the site from which Russian-America had been ruled looked like nothing so much as an unimposing knoll. A piece of an old cannon was all that remained from

the days of Russian colonization. I was aware that Baranov's castle had burned many years ago, but still I was disappointed. I trudged off to the youth hostel on the edge of town.

Things picked up the following day with a rainy walk through the Sitka woods and a self-guided tour of the Tlingit crest poles (often mistakenly called totem poles) just outside the town. I encountered a raven making its usual odd noises and hopping around in a comical fashion. Simple as it was, that observation brought into focus for me the Tlingit fascination with this bird, whom they called "Raven the Trickster." I visited St. Michael's, the oldest Orthodox cathedral in America and met the church reader, himself a Tlingit (St. Michael's congregation is nearly 90% Tlingit). Although he looked at me suspiciously when I introduced myself, we soon became friends. Interestingly, the liturgy at this cathedral is performed in Old

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**The previous summer, I was told, had had only one full sunny day. No wonder rain boots are sometimes called "Sitka slippers!"**

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Slavonic, Aleut, Tlingit and English. A few days later, Bishop Gregory, the Orthodox bishop of Alaska, who is of Russian descent, received me. He turned out to be a wonderful host and a learned scholar, well acquainted with the literature in the field.

Currently the Orthodox Church holds an important place in Tlingit culture. Oddly enough, the conversion of the bulk of the Tlingit to Orthodoxy occurred after the Russians had left Alaska. Toward the end of the Russian period, the Tlingit had become used to a relatively benevolent paternalistic rule, and to religious authorities under strict orders not to convert anyone by force. They were outraged by the new order imposed by the Americans. "Indian fighting" troops from Dakota were sent to Sitka. Young people were separated from their families and sent to Protestant schools in the "lower forty-eight." A Tlingit village was shelled by an American ship. In all these conflicts, the Orthodox church, still with a presence in the former colony and supported with funds from Russia, actively backed the Tlingit. Mass conversions of the Tlingit to Orthodoxy followed.

As time went on and I met more people, I continued to gain appreciation for the town. I spent my days learning its history, from people as well as books. Meanwhile the weather stayed uncommonly sunny, warm enough for me to wear shorts most of the time. The previous summer, I was told, had had only one full sunny day. No wonder rain boots are sometimes called "Sitka slippers!"



My most vivid memory from my last days in Sitka is of a church picnic on the shore, to which I was invited by the priest of St. Michael's. At a picnic site next to that of the Orthodox group, a Tlingit dance group was also holding a picnic. Somewhat to my surprise, after blessing our food, Bishop Gregory walked over to the Tlingit area and blessed them. He hugged each one in turn. Choral music, recorded earlier that day, was playing in our area, while at the Tlingit picnic area they were singing traditional songs and performing dances, led by a dignified elderly woman and a younger woman, who beat on a single drum. People of all ages participated in the dancing; some chose to sit alongside and listen. I overheard one Tlingit woman, also a member of St. Michael's congregation, say to another: "I did not know how much I missed these songs until I heard them again." I think I understand what she meant.

Throughout the picnic, members of the St. Michael's congregation walked between the two picnic sites at will, joining in the Tlingit dances for awhile, then returning to their own area to talk. Children from both groups started a united softball game. It occurred to me that, in fact, these were not two picnics, they were one. Bishop Gregory was correct when he told me that virtually nothing is left in Alaska of the Russian *promyshlenniks* led by Baronov, whereas Orthodoxy is alive and well, integrated as it is into the native culture. When I first approached the Tlingit dancers, I felt that it would not be right for me to dance with them. So I joined the people sitting alongside, and watched and listened. Some time later an older woman from the congregation, whom I knew to be a Tlingit, tapped me on the shoulder and said, "Go dance. It's time for you to dance." And that was one of the greatest moments of my life. ☐

*ILYA VINKOVETSKY is a graduate student in the Department of History. He was in Alaska doing background research for his dissertation concerning Russian colonization on the northwest coast of North America and the history of Russian ideas in America. Ilya recently delivered a paper at the AAASS convention entitled "Savage But Valuable: A Few Observations on Ioann Veniaminov's Portrayal of the Aleut and the Tlingit." For his bag lunch presentation on November 18 he discussed "Russian America: Colonization in the 18th and 19th Centuries."*

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among this group was Abrar Karimullin, a historian of Tatar culture who for many years before glasnost was ostracized for his work and unable to publish some of it. Recently he was elected to the Tatarstan Academy of Sciences. "Any Tatar who doesn't know his own language is a traitor," he often says. While he doesn't fault Tatars for forgetting their language under the Soviets, when there was pressure not to use Tatar, he believes that now there is no excuse for ignorance. Once when accosted in the street by a drunken man, he whispered to me, "None of these drunks are ever Tatars. They're all Russian swine!" He was, of course, wrong. But such fierce rhetoric is more for effect than for its face value; when pressed, nationalists often feel compelled to soften their words. The local entertainer and activist Vofira, whom I had just heard sing a rousing anthem to Tatar national self-determination, told me she envisions "forcing" all Russians in the new Tatarstan to learn Tatar (she made a choking gesture with her hands). She also said she wants to raise her son "so that he'd never even *want* to marry a Russian." Only after I raised my eyebrows did she make clear that she does not consider Russians racially inferior or undesirable as individuals, but is chiefly concerned about the possible extinction of the Tatar nation. She also believes that ethnic inequality has usually made Russian-Tatar marriages dysfunctional. "If a marriage is really based on love, then I am in favor of it," she admitted. Given that emotions run high when Tatar nationalists are gathered, and that the nationalists have plenty of enemies, it isn't hard to see how nasty rumors are spread. One example: Fauzia Bairamova, a leader of the Tatar Community Center, the most radical nationalist organization, was said to have called for the extermination of all children of mixed marriages.

powerful, and as controversial, as rhetoric. Farida Zabirowa, the head of the Union of Architects who is working on a restoration project for the "Tatar quarter" where Tatars were required to live before 1917, describes the history of Kazan architecture as a game of tic-tac-toe played with crosses and half-moons. Every time the Tatars built a mosque, the Russians countered with a new church, as close by as possible, and vice versa. That game, she says, is continuing today. Recently the Suiumbeke Tower in the Kazan kremlin was restored and a half-moon placed at its top. Though popular legend has often referred to the tower as a Muslim place of worship surviving from the Kazan khanate, architectural historians (mostly Tatars) say that the tower could not have been built before the 18th century. Niaz Khalitov published the latter opinion in a recent book, but then backed down to nationalists who insisted on appropriating the tower for the Tatars. Another architectural restorationist (a Tatar) said of Khalitov, "I lost a lot of respect for him when he gave in and said there could have been a half-moon on the tower. He knows it's not

true."

Though some degree of nationalist imagery and anti-Russian rhetoric is appealing to many Kazan Tatars as a way to avoid feeling collective shame for the crimes of the Communists (and responsibility for the present crisis), wariness of the self-appointed Tatar cultural elite is not uncommon. People complain about the extinction of the "real Tatar intelligentsia," those who were eliminated under Stalin, or moved to Moscow and merged with the "Soviet intelligentsia." The new guard, they say, are immigrants from the villages who have never become truly cultured and are prone to extremism and vulgarity. Nationalist tempers and Islamic fervor are said to run much higher outside of the capital, especially around the newly industrialized cities like Zelenodol'sk and Naberezhnye Chelny, which have experienced a sudden influx of Russians from outside Tataria. In fact, rural areas and smaller cities voted in favor of sovereignty in much greater numbers than Kazan residents; in more homogeneous Tatar areas, the affirmative vote went as high as 80 or 90 percent,



Seal of the World Congress of Tatars, June 1992

Nationalist symbolism can be as

PHOTO: BOB GERACI



while in Kazan alone the referendum would have failed, at 46 percent.

But even moderates, when pushed, can have their more fiery moments. Rosa, a retired doctor, told me about discrimination she experienced on a recent stay in a sanatorium. The woman she had been assigned to share a room with asked whether she is a Tatar, and if so, whether she'd mind changing rooms. The one making the request, a Russian, wanted to room with another Russian, who had also been placed with a Tatar. Rosa agreed to change rooms but offered a piece of her mind. "One should never judge a person on the basis of nationality," she said. "For centuries you Russians have been oppressing us."

"Don't be so upset," said the Russian. "My husband is a Tatar."

"And when you fight, I bet you call him a *cherepliashka* [a derogatory term for Tatars referring to the Muslim skullcap]."

"Yes, but he calls me a *morzha* ['walrus,' a derogatory name for a Russian woman]."

"That's wonderful!" said Rosa sarcastically. "I think Bairamova is right! Two different peoples can't share the same territory!"

Some Tatars, usually those who do not know the language, only resent the pressure to be nationally conscious. Alik, who knows nearly no Tatar and is much more interested in learning English, enjoys baiting nationalist demonstrators on the street by deconstructing his own national identity. "What's a Tatar? What's a Russian?" he queries. "My passport says I'm a Tatar, but what does that mean? My father is a Tatar and my mother is a Russian. I inherited a Tatar last name from my father, and then they gave me a Tatar first name. How was it going to look if I called myself a Russian on my pass-

port?"

He supposes that there are many others like him among those counted officially as Tatars. Nailia, an English professor, had two Tatar parents. But she too speaks little of the language; she is visibly uncomfortable about having to chit-chat in Tatar with the neighbor who greets her at the dacha on weekends. "This Tatar business is so tiresome. The language, the music—they only grate on my nerves. Why did you pick such an uninteresting topic for your dissertation?"

In the absence of outright provocation, Russian chauvinists keep a low profile. I was aware of them only through hearsay. Even a representative of a new church society, the Brotherhood of St. Gurii (named after a 16th-century missionary), said the group is afraid to discuss the possibility of missionary work among Tatars because "the climate isn't at all right for it now."

Some Russians, such as my friend Serezha, say fears of Russophobia made them vote no in the referendum. They think sovereignty might result in discriminatory laws like the language and citizenship laws in Estonia and Latvia. Indeed, keeping the issues of territorial sovereignty and nationalist revival separate is an intellectual and moral challenge for both Russians and Tatars. And while it is clear that the two movements have nurtured each other, so far the government has carefully avoided speaking of independent Tatarstan as the property of just the Tatars. Instead, its propa-

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**... most *kazantsy* agree that nationality and sovereignty issues can only be entertained in a context that allows for a successful reform of the economy and society, the chief priorities.**

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ganda celebrates a multi-ethnic society. The new draft constitution lists both Tatar and Russian as official languages of state; children will be required to learn both in school, but any language can be the primary language of instruction.

\*\*\*

Sovereignty has been promoted as purely a political and economic plan in the interest of all ethnic groups, and some Russians seem to be sold on it. There is a widespread feeling that if harmony can be kept with Russia the republic will do better on its own. Tatarstan's assets include oil, which, after 45 years of being sacrificed to local political ambitions, has been kept from leaving the republic in the past year or so. The Soviet Union's sole truck factory is also in Tatarstan. The government, though planning long-term reforms, has already managed to spare Tatarstan from some of the excesses of Russia's 1992 economic liberalization. Some foodstuffs are still being rationed; state-issued coupons for every citizen help to blunt the impact of price increases. Privatization of state enterprises has not begun and there are still very few private stores. As a result, life is a little easier here than elsewhere in Russia, and residents feel that after decades of traveling to Moscow to buy back the produce their local leaders had bargained away, it is only right that the tables are now turned.

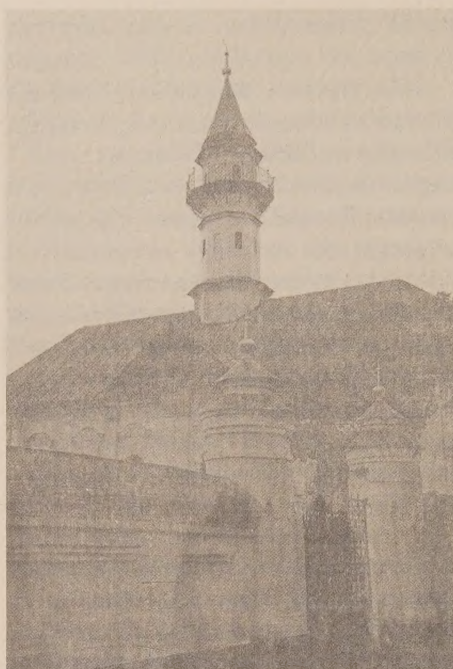
To say that nationality and independence are the most pressing questions of the day here would be a gross exaggeration. To visitors and residents alike, the strongest impressions made by Kazan are of economic and social crisis, of dilapidation, griminess and backwardness. Many people here still live without plumbing or telephones. Even in the center of the city, the site of the university and the government, these utilities may shut down unexpectedly for weeks at a time. Street lighting and public transport are often barely



functional. Since the introduction of glasnost, Kazan has been famous as Russia's capital of juvenile delinquency; cynicism runs high in a city continually abuzz with the latest news of violent crimes. But with the exception of one skirmish between demonstrators and police in October 1991, so far no violence in Kazan has been linked to ethnic or national issues.

For the most part, nationalism and the sovereignty movement in Kazan are derivative of a larger crisis, by-products of Communism's demise. "This is all pretty new, all this Russian-Tatar business," a bright high school graduate told me. "Before five or six years ago, everybody just lived in Kazan together peacefully, and no one ever talked about their nationality." And most *kazantsy* agree that nationality and sovereignty issues can only be entertained in a context that allows for a successful reform of the economy and society, the chief priorities. As images of fighting in Moldova, Nagorno-Karabakh and Bosnia flash across television screens, the failure of ethnic and territorial causes to take on a life of their own in Tatarstan comes as a relief.

Tatarstan Street crosses the Bulak river, which used to be the boundary between the Russian and Tatar sections of Kazan under tsarism. On a concrete barrier here, someone has painted, "We were, are, and always will be the BULGARS!" I can't help but wonder, in a community where adults have had little opportunity to learn their history, and where most youth seem wholly unconcerned with either the past or the future, how many will catch the drift of this message, and of where it has been placed. □



The Marjani Mosque, Kazan, 1767

PHOTO: BOB GERACI

#### *Calendar from page 15*

general, \$8 seniors and students. For information call 415/979-8690. Grace Cathedral, 1051 Taylor Street, San Francisco. 4:00 p.m.

#### **Monday, March 1**

**BROWN BAG LUNCH:** Sergei V. Lyozov, professor of history and philology at the Russian State University of the Humanities, Moscow, will discuss "Humanities Education in the Post-Soviet State: Paradigms of Past and Future." Co-sponsored by the Center for Studies in Higher Education and the Townsend Center for the Humanities. Seminar Room, Center for Studies in Higher Education, South Hall Annex, noon.

#### **Friday, March 12**

**XVII ANNUAL BERKELEY-STANFORD CONFERENCE:** to be held in Berkeley on the theme, "The Disintegration of Multinational Communist States." Participants will compare the recent fates of the USSR, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, relating them to theories of national-

ism and imperial disintegration and to historical analogues such as the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires. See the next Update for a complete program. The event includes morning, afternoon and evening sessions, with breaks for lunch and dinner. Put the date on your calendar, and we'll see you there. Lipman Room, Barrows Hall, 8th floor. 9:00 - 5:00 p.m. □

#### **Newsletter**

of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, University of California at Berkeley. 361 Stephens Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720; phone 510/642-3230.

**Editor:** Anne Hawkins  
Phone 510/642-9107

The newsletter is published quarterly during the academic year. Please send suggestions, corrections or inquiries to the editor at the above address. Submit mailing address changes to the Center, Attn.: Newsletter Mailing List; or call the Center at 510/642-3230.

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# Library Report

"The future is now" was a phrase popular a few years back, and in some cases the adage still holds true. Computers, once the stuff of science fiction, are now commonplace and have altered the shape of library services, both for the user and for those of us behind the scenes. You are probably most familiar with the changes in library catalogs, the switch from cards in a file to a computer terminal requiring arcane but powerful commands to extract what you want to know. Library catalogs, however, are only one of the electronic services that make information more available more quickly. I would like to introduce you to two new types of information sources which, I believe, will become staples for those of us in Slavic Studies.

What is a journal? Most would say a publication that contains articles and reports, which comes out at fairly regular intervals, and which sits somewhere on a shelf in the library. But what about a journal with vital information for your research that you cannot photocopy or borrow with your library card? Across a vast network of interconnected computers, journals are being published and read, articles are being printed and saved on disk, and, what is perhaps most remarkable, in many instances all of this is happening free of charge except for the fee of your electronic mail account. Soon such "electronic" journals will be commonplace on the same terminals which now bring you the library catalog. Several are already available through any personal computer account and are accessible from your office or home PC. The trick is to learn of their existence and to find out how to subscribe.

One such title is the *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Daily Report on Eastern Europe*. This extremely useful chronicle of current events composed by the research staff of this well-respected organization can be received five times a week through your personal campus computer account. All it takes to access this publication is a computer and a connection to the network (either through a computer on the campus network or through a modem dialed into this same network). To subscribe, simply do the following:

- 1) log into your personal account
- 2) send electronic mail to:  
listserv@ubvm.cc.buffalo.edu
- 3) leave the subject area blank
- 4) in the first and only line of the

message type:

subscribe rferl-l <your name>

In a few days you will begin to receive about ten pages per day of reports on happenings in the former Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. The information is gleaned from foreign news services, international newspapers, and stories filed by RFE/RL reporters who are on the scene. The depth and speed of this information is unsur-

passed, and the only stipulation placed on the receipt of these reports is that you do not reuse it for commercial purposes. But "electronic" journals are not the only resources available on the network. Suppose one wishes to find recent articles on Russian agriculture or on the education system in Poland. In the past, answers to such questions required a trip to the library and hours of searching through a variety of indexes. Perhaps the index you found most helpful only covered material up to 1989. Today there are many electronic indexes with data sometimes only a month or two old. Again, a personal computer, an electronic mail account and a modem are all you need to access a wide variety of helpful indexes.

One recent entrant to the electronic index field is *ABSEES Online*, which many of you may know in its print form, the *American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies*. The advantages of the online version are that it is much more current and that it allows you greater searching flexibility. *ABSEES Online* contains over 10,600 bibliographic records for books and serials appearing from 1990 to 1992, and new records are added on a monthly basis. One can search the database by subject, author, words in a title, or simply scan all articles that appear in a specific journal. One can also combine searches in a variety of ways. Since the focus of the index is all subject areas pertaining to the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, *ABSEES Online* should become a basic tool for all who are interested in that geographic area.

To access the database from a personal electronic mail account:

- 1) type - telnet alexia.lis.uiuc.edu
- 2) at the "login:" prompt type - absees
- 3) at the "password:" prompt type - slavibib

Online help is available, but searching is fairly straightforward.

If you are interested in more information on either of these new electronic tools or would like a personal demonstration, please call me at 642-0956 to set up an appointment.

**Moffitt Update:** In the last issue I reported on the closure of Moffitt during construction for seismic improvements. I am happy now to inform you that by the time you read this (or soon thereafter) the Moffitt Library will have moved back to its old quarters and will be fully operational for the Spring semester. A University of California ID will still be required for entry, though a one-day pass will be granted for certain services which only can be provided in the Moffitt location. Inquire at the Reference Desk in the Main Library about the regulations governing a Moffitt pass.

---Allan Urbanic  
Slavic Librarian



# ASC Information

The Center acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, The Associates of the Slavic Center, between September 1, 1992, and December 31, 1992. Financial support from the Associates is vital to our program of research, training, and extracurricular activities. We would like to thank all members of ASC for their generous assistance. (\*Signifies recent gift of continuing membership.)

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**Members (to \$100).** Members of ASC regularly receive Newsletter "Updates" and special mailings to be sure they are aware of last-minute events. They will also receive invitations to special "wine and cheese" lecture events, featuring guest speakers from the faculty as well as visiting scholars.

**Sponsors (\$100-up).** ASC Sponsors will, in addition, be our guests at a special cultural program held during the year. Sponsors also receive a uniquely designed coffee mug, promoting Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley. All donors of \$100 or more are listed in Berkeley's Annual Report of Private Giving.

**Benefactors (\$500-up).** ASC Benefactors will also be our guests at the dinner and evening programs associated with our annual conferences. Invitations will be offered to the annual Benefactors' Meetings. Benefactors will also receive complimentary copies of the books published by the Center on major developments in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

**Center Circle (\$1,000-up).** In addition to enjoying the above-mentioned benefits, donors within the **Center Circle** will also become Robert Gordon Sproul Associates of the University. As such, they are invited to the Chancellor's annual black tie banquet and to luncheons before the major football games. They also receive membership in the Faculty Club and twenty other worldwide faculty clubs.

(The funds obtained from the annual giving are used to support the program of research, teaching and public outreach which the Center has established through the years).

**Please note:** The Center is not able to mail fliers and announcements to everyone on our mailing list. Those on the mailing list receive our quarterly newsletter. Associates of the Center do receive update mailings as part of their membership entitlements. Callers will find a recording of the week's events on the Center number, 510/642-3230.

To join the Associates, mail in the form on page 7 or call the Center at 510/642-3230.



# Fellowships and Other Opportunities

**The Joint Committee for the Soviet Union and its Successor States** is sponsoring a graduate student competition for participation in two workshops on Imperial Russia. Students who wish to participate should propose a paper based on field research; the period addressed should be the 18th and first half of the 19th centuries. Applicants must be currently enrolled in a doctoral program. Contact: Workshops on Imperial Russia, Joint Committee on the Soviet Union and its Successor States, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158. The application deadline is **FEBRUARY 15, 1993**.

**Institute for the Study of World Politics** dissertation fellowship competition: Ph.D. candidates in political science, economics, international relations and history (and some other social science disciplines) conducting dissertation research in such areas as arms control, resource management, demographics, the political and economic evolution of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and international relations, are eligible. Awards are for periods of three to nine months. For further details contact: the Institute for the Study of World Politics, 1993-94 Dissertation Fellowship Competition, 1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. The application deadline is **FEBRUARY 16, 1993**.

**IREX (International Research and Exchanges Board)** has moved. The new address: IREX, 1616 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006; 202/628-8188; fax 202/628-8189. **Developmental Fellowships** for doctoral candidates, post-docs and faculty provide opportunities for training and research in languages and area studies for eventual research in Eastern and Central Europe or the states of the former USSR. Grants are to be used in the U.S. The application deadline is **FEBRUARY 15, 1993**.

**Radio Free Liberty/Radio Liberty Research Institute** offers residence fellowships (consisting of office space, housing for fellows and their families and computer facilities) in Munich for six- to twelve-month periods. Visiting fellows work on and fund their own projects, and participate in Institute activities. Contact: A. Ross Johnson, Director, RFE/RL Research Institute, Oettingenstr. 67, D-8000 Munich, Germany; fax 49-89-2102-2555.

**Slavic Center Mellon Dissertation Write-up Grants:** **Purpose:** to assist advanced graduate students with expenses incurred during the final write-up of a dissertation. Awards are modest, not exceeding \$3,000. **Eligibility:** UC Berkeley Ph.D. candidates in the process of completing their dissertations. Because funds are limited, students may receive only one Center Mellon dissertation grant during their graduate careers. The application consists of the following: (1) dissertation prospectus; (2)

statement of progress to date on the dissertation, indicating expected filing date; (3) statement of financial need (estimated income and expenses); and (4) two letters of reference from dissertation committee members, confirming the expected filing date. Submit to: George W. Breslauer, Chair, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, Attn: Dissertation Grants, 361 Stephens Hall. The application deadline is **MARCH 15, 1993**.

## SUMMER PROGRAMS

**The Joint Committee** announces the availability of retraining support in research methodologies and non-Russian languages for postdocs who received their degrees prior to 1988. Grants are contingent on the availability of Title VII funds. For information on this new program contact: Joint Committee on the Soviet Union and its Successor States, Summer Postdoctoral Retraining Program, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158. The application deadline is **MARCH 1, 1993** (for summer 1993).

**American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Joint Committee on Eastern Europe** announces programs for area and comparative training and research. **Pre-dissertation travel grants:** for travel to Eastern Europe during summer 1993 for the purpose of preliminary dissertation research. The application deadline is **MARCH 1, 1993**. **East European Language Training Grants:** summer training in any East European language (other than those of the C.I.S.), in the U.S. or Eastern Europe. For information contact: Office of Fellowships and Grants, ACLS, 228 E. 45th Street, New York, NY, 10017. The deadline for application is **MARCH 1, 1993**.

**ACTR/ACCELS Summer Programs in Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary:** the American Council for Collaboration in Education and Language Study (ACCELS) offers summer programs at Masaryk University, Brno; Palacky University, Olomouc; Charles University, Prague; Comenius University, Bratislava; and Budapest University of Economic Sciences, Budapest. Beginning through advanced instruction is available. Credit is offered through Bryn Mawr College. Contact Michael Kuban, ACTR/ACCELS, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue, NKW, Suite 527, Washington, DC. The application deadline is **MARCH 1, 1993**.

**The AAASS newsletter's January issue** includes extensive listings of summer programs. AAASS also produces a yearly directory of programs, listing over 100 summer programs in the U.S. and abroad.



# Calendar of Events

## Remember to check the location for the bag lunches:

most of the Slavic Center bag lunches are now held in the seminar room (room 270), downstairs. Center staff recognize that the location of our brown bag lunch talks has not always been ideal this year. We are trying to schedule events in 442 Stephens, everyone's favorite, but at press time we don't know whether 442 will be in use as a classroom and will continue to be unavailable. As a result, several of the events listed below have locations "to be announced" (TBA).

**To our readers:** Each Calendar contains listings of a few events which probably occurred before your issue arrived in the mail. We include them for the benefit of our campus readers, who receive the Newsletter through campus mail. For an up-to-the-minute listing of Slavic Center events, call the Center at 510/642-3230. If Brenda is not at her desk and you wish to find out about an event, stay on the line. After a brief message, you will hear a recorded listing of the current week's activities.

## Monday-Friday

**All the latest news:** *Novosti*, the Russian news program, will be screened daily beginning January 26, Monday through Friday. Seminar Room, 270 Stephens, at 2:15 p.m. Everyone is welcome.

## Tuesday, January 26

**BROWN BAG LUNCH:** Oleg A. Troyanovsky, advisor to the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, former Soviet ambassador to the U.N., former Soviet ambassador to Japan and Soviet Ambassador to China, and currently a Wilson Fellow, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, D.C., will speak on "The Cold War: An Ambassador's View." Co-sponsored by the Berkeley-Stanford Program. Location TBA, noon.

## Wednesday, January 27

**BROWN BAG LUNCH:** Lilia Shevtsova, head of the Center for Political Studies and deputy director of the Institute of International Economic and Political Studies, Moscow, will speak on "Russian Politics in 1992: Cacophony of Chaos." Location TBA, noon. **Rescheduled from December 1992.**

## Wednesday, February 3

**BROWN BAG LUNCH:** Barbara Bojnec-Fakin, Fulbright research associate in economics from Ljubljana, Slovenia, and a research scholar at the Institute of International Studies, will give "A Comparative Analysis of Investment Efficiency of West and East European Economies." Seminar Room, 270 Stephens, noon. **Rescheduled from November 1992.**

## Thursday, February 4

**LECTURE:** Andras Inotal, director, Institute for World Economics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, will discuss "Central Europe as Part of the European Community." Sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Northern California. Members \$6, non-members \$9. Reservations are recommended. World Affairs Center, 312 Sutter Street, San Francisco. 5:15 p.m. registration and reception, 5:45 p.m. program.

## Friday, February 5

**FILM:** Pacific Film Archive (PFA) presents the first in their series on Polish director, Andrzej Wajda, "Post-War and Peace: Andrzej Wajda." "Wajda earned the moniker of Poland's greatest filmmaker with his first trilogy of films, *A Generation*, *Kanal*, and *Ashes and Diamonds*. In this triptych, Wajda broke the mold of East European filmmaking by taking as his subject very human heroes whose destinies were usurped by the tragic times in which they lived. From the mid-1950s, Wajda looked back to World War II to examine the complex and agonizing role of the individual in time of crisis..." For their tribute to Wajda, PFA has selected these early films, which continue to be relevant: "Wajda's questioning of what it means to act, and what it means to be 'free,' bring us right up to the post-Cold War present, in which, it seems, Everything is For Sale." (quoted material is from the January/February Pacific Film Archive *Film Notes*). Pacific Film Archive is located at 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley; 510/642-1412.

*Man of Marble*, Poland, 1977, 160 mins., in Polish with English titles. Dubbed the European *Citizen Kane* for its breakneck search for the true story of a cult hero through his artifacts, one of which is cinema. Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley. 7:30 p.m.

## Wednesday, February 10

**BROWN BAG LUNCH:** Jozsef Borocz, assistant professor, Department of Sociology, UC Irvine, will speak on "Simulating the Great Transformation: Property Change Under Prolonged Informality in Hungary." Seminar Room, 270 Stephens, noon.

**LECTURE:** Paul Goble of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace will give a lecture whose title and location are TBA. Co-sponsored by the Berkeley-Stanford Program. 4:00 p.m.

## Thursday, February 11

**FILM:** "The Last Days of the Last Tsar," a docu-drama by Russian director Anatoly Ivanov. Dwinelle Hall (room TBA), 4:00 p.m.

## Friday, February 12

**FILMS:** "Post-War and Peace." *A Generation*



(*Pokolenie*, Poland, 1954, 90 mins., in Polish with English titles). The film about which Roman Polanski said, "The whole Polish cinema began with it." 7:30 p.m. *Innocent Sorcerers* (Poland, 1960, 86 mins., in Polish with English titles). Wajda's first film with a contemporary setting brought to light the problems of a new "lost generation." 9:15 p.m. PFA, 2625 Durant Ave. Berkeley, 510/642-1412.

## Tuesday, February 16

**LECTURE:** Ambassador Robert Frowick, visiting scholar at the Hoover Institution, will speak on "Kosovo and Macedonia: Echoes of 1914 in the Balkans?" Sponsored by the World Affairs Council. Members \$18, non-members \$23; program only, members \$6, non-members \$9. Prepaid reservations required. Call 415/982-2541. Dominican College, Shield Room, San Rafael. 6:30 p.m. reception, 7:00 p.m. dinner, 7:45 p.m. program.

## Wednesday, February 17

**BROWN BAG LUNCH:** John Burkett, professor of economics at the University of Rhode Island and research associate at the Institute of International Studies, will speak on a topic TBA. Seminar Room, 270 Stephens, noon.

## Friday, February 19

**A TALK WITH MARTIN CRUZ SMITH:** Slavic Department professor Eric Naiman interviews the author of *Gorky Park*, *Polar Star* and *Red Square*; a book signing follows the program, and a reception will be held for ASC members following the signing. Alumni House Lounge, 4:30 p.m.

**FILM:** "Post-War and Peace." *Ashes and Diamonds* (*Popiol i Diament*, Poland, 1958, 105 mins., in Polish with English titles). This film represents the height of the New Polish Cinema of the fifties; a stunning example of Wajda's use of stark imagery and lighting. 7:30 p.m. *Kanal* (Poland, 1957, 96 mins., in Polish with English titles). *Kanal* presents a grim picture of the last days of the Polish Resistance in Warsaw. 9:30 p.m. PFA, 2625 Durant Ave. Berkeley, 510/642-1412.

## Saturday, February 20

**CONCERT:** Kitka, the East European women's chorus, in a concert of songs from Eastern Europe and beyond. Tickets are \$9.50 general, \$7 seniors and children. For information call 510/447-2527. Del Valle Fine Arts, First Presbyterian Church, Fourth and L Streets, Livermore. 8:00 p.m.

## Monday, February 22

**ANNUAL SANFORD S. ELBERG LECTURE:** Alexander Yakovlev, former Politburo member and advisor to former president and general secretary Mikhail Gor-

bachyev, will give a talk, title TBA, sponsored by the Institute for International Studies. Sibley Auditorium, Bechtel Bldg. 4:00 p.m.

**FILMS:** "Silent Film Classics. The Soviets: Eisenstein and Vertov." *Strike* (*Stachka*, USSR, 1924, 105 mins., silent with Russian titles and live English translation). *Soviet Toys* (*Sovetskie Ugrushki*, USSR, 1924, 13 mins., silent with Russian titles and English translation). The program begins at 5:00 p.m. PFA, 2625 Durant Ave., Berkeley, 510/642-1412.

## Tuesday, February 23

**BROWN BAG LUNCH:** Galia Golan, professor of political science, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, will speak on "Central Asia and the Middle East." Co-sponsored by the Berkeley-Stanford Program. Location TBA, noon.

## Wednesday, February 24

**BROWN BAG LUNCH:** Clay Moltz, research fellow, Institute for International Studies, will discuss "Breaking With Moscow? The Russian Far East and the Greater Pacific Rim Economy." Seminar Room, 270 Stephens, noon.

**LECTURE:** Ronald Grigor Suny, professor of history, University of Michigan, will give a talk, title TBA. Co-sponsored by the Berkeley-Stanford Program. 223 Moses Hall, 4:00 p.m.

## Thursday, February 25

**ANNUAL COLIN MILLER LECTURE:** Andrei Kortunov, head of the Foreign Policy Department, Institute for USA and Canada Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, and a visiting professor in the Department of Political Science, will deliver the annual lecture in memory of Colin Miller, a reporter and Hollywood producer with an abiding interest in Slavic and East European studies. The title of Dr. Kortunov's talk will be announced shortly. Lipman Room, Barrows Hall, 8th floor. 4:00 p.m.

## Friday, February 26

**FILMS:** "Post-War and Peace." *Landscape After Battle* (*Krajobraz po Bitwie*, Poland, 1970, 110 mins., in Polish with English titles). Perhaps the definitive Polish film on the psychic ravages of World War II. 7:30 p.m. *Everything For Sale* (*Wszystko na Sprzedaz*, Poland, 1968, 105 mins., in Polish with English titles). Wajda's personal homage to Zbigniew Cybulski, an actor who came to be called the Polish James Dean. 9:35 p.m. PFA, 2625 Durant Ave., Berkeley, 510/642-1412.

## Sunday, February 28

**CONCERT:** Slavyanka, the men's Slavic chorus, presents the world premiere of "Shvedov Liturgy." Tickets, \$12



### Two New Publications

The Slavic Center and the Berkeley-Stanford Program each published a book in December. In *Selected Topics in Soviet Ethnopolitics*, Berkeley-Stanford Program graduate students examine the ethnic and multinational seeds for the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The volume also features a contribution from Leokadia Drobizheva, deputy director of the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which addresses the likelihood of the disintegration of the Russian Federation itself.

### *Selected Topics in Soviet Ethnopolitics*

(C) 1992 by the Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies

Contributors: Leokadia Drobizheva, Corbin B. Lyday, Nils R. Muiznieks, and Douglas Taylor Northrop

With a preface by Gail W. Lapidus

130 pages, softcover, \$9.50

*Cheese & Honey, Folk Tale Selections From the Slavic Center*, comprises four tales in translation from Slavic and non-Slavic Eurasian sources. Included are *The Girl and the Moonman*, a Chukchi tale from the Russian Far North; *The Rope With the Three Knots*, a Latvian tale; *Treasure Keepers*, a Polish tale; and *Jenik and Jenny*, from Czechoslovakia. The format is that of a 32-page children's book, with four original illustrations and large type for easy reading. A perfect gift, or buy one for yourself!

Center for Slavic and East European Studies  
International and Area Studies  
361 Stephens Hall  
University of California  
Berkeley, CA 94720  
IV 13

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### *Cheese & Honey, Folk Tale Selections From the Slavic Center*

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